The IDLER

Public Occurrences, Comment, Excursions & Rational Entertainment

Nr 15 DECEMBER 1965 35c THE COPY

A Question of Style

MORTARS FOR THE STOCKING

HOW GOOD IS FOOD FOR PEACE?

Other Current Matters

WASHINGTON

WHEN LYNDON JOHNSON was recovering from his operation reporters were informed of his bowel movements. Then, to make certain that all segments of the press were treated equally, he later displayed his abdominal scars for the benefit of news photographers.

Incidents such as these have led some critics to detect certain defects in the Johnson style. They look back with nostalgia on the graceful well-spoken days of John F. Kennedy when the President presented an image of dignity and the White House projected less of the atmosphere of a men's locker room.

Of late, however, a journalistic counter-offensive has been launched on Mr. Johnson's behalf, notably by Tom Wicker in *Esquire*, John Roche in the *New York Times Magazine* and Henry Fairlie in *Commentary*. What these writers appear to be saying, in various ways, is that a President has the right to be slob as long as he gives us medicare, a war on poverty, a reasonable chance of success in Vietnam, and a National Council on the Arts and Humanities.

It is an appealing contention. There have been too many invidious comparisons made between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Kennedy. If LBJ prefers westerns to Ian Fleming, so what? Besides, there was always something a little too precious about the Kennedy years. They had the affected ostentatiously restored good taste of a Georgetown town house. Something seems to go awry when Americans acquire culture. The American pursuing excellence tends to become a rather unpleasant individual to be around. He loses the earthy vigor of his rowdy heritage but never develops a truly convincing refinement. He must always struggle to maintain his good taste lest he slip from the orchestra pit back to the barbecue pit. Once converted to culture, he often becomes as uncomfortable a companion as an aggressively reformed alcoholic.

But while discussion of style on this level is really tangential to the serious evaluation of a President, one should not dismiss the question of style entirely.

The reason for this is that democracy, at its heart, is a matter of style. Among its tenets is the belief that the way man accomplishes his goals is as important as the goals themselves.

We put up with inefficient institutions (such as that most inefficient of all institutions — the United States Congress) because we have faith in a certain style.

We allow judges to release admittedly guilty men because lower courts have not followed a certain style.

And we limit the ability of the President to carry out programs he was elected to pursue because we adhere to a certain style.

Without a relentless insistence on style there could be no democracy. If substance were all that mattered, de-

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The Idler

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Editor: sam smith
The Idler
125 Fifth St. N.E.
Washington 2, D.C.
202-546-9662

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Anne Ewell

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mocracy might have been abandoned long ago. After all, Mr. Johnson could have given us medicare, education and housing programs, anti-poverty measures, aid to Appalachia and an excise tax cut whether he were president, king, shah, communist premier, suzerein, caliph, sherif, mikado, maharajah or tribal chieftain. The means would have been different but the results could have been the same.

The president's style becomes important when it affects democracy's style. It is not a matter of barbecues vs. ballet. It is a matter of whether a president's stewardship of the government elevates or degrades the quality of democracy.

In some respects, such as his demand that the Negro be granted equality, Mr. Johnson has greatly contributed to the style of our democracy. But in certain other respects the Johnson approach leaves much to be desired.

He has too often substituted massive propaganda for rational advocacy.

He has too frequently permitted his administration to engage in subterfuge instead of candor.

He has sought self-glorification beyond the requirements of ordinary political expediency.

And his administration has displayed (and encouraged in others) unnecessary intolerance of groups and individuals critical of government policy.

Among the numerous examples that come to mind:

—The Vietnam propaganda blitzkrieg which has reached Orwellian proportions and which has been relied upon instead of answering logical criticisms of the war with logical arguments.

—The handling of the Dominican crisis in a way that forced the press to fight official mendacity every step of the way.

—The White House's control over speeches by government officials that seems largely aimed at insuring the insertion of sufficient praise of the person of LBJ. And the speed with which the President attended to the matter of making his birth place a national shrine.

—The Administration's approach to the anti-Vietnam demonstrations that has included red-baiting, and implications that the protesters were prolonging the war and causing the deaths of American soldiers.

Excessive propaganda, subterfuge, glorification of a national leader and intolerance of dissent are not characteristics unique to the Johnson Administration. We have seen them before and we shall see them again. But they should always concern us because they represent, when in their most expanded form, the style of totalitarianism, the final submission of means to ends.

There is no clear dividing line between democracy and despotism but

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the prevalence of such characteristics should provide a warning signal.

Government by propaganda, government without candor, government of intolerance, government unduly dependent on presidential charisma — these are the hallmarks of a democracy in trouble.

This is why the president's style is important. For in the end, we must consider not only our chief executive's material accomplishments but whether, during his term of office, he strengthened or eroded the style of our democracy.

HOLD ON!

By Charles McDowell, Jr.

NOW THAT IT IS no longer necessary to worry constantly about the possibility that Francis X. Morrissey will become a federal judge, a man can lift his eyes to the broader horizons of life.

Consider, for example, professional football. It is one of the most astonishing phenomena of this era in America. It is not just the national game but the national preoccupation.

Professional football has replaced Proust in the salons of intellectual discussion. It has forced both politics and the dirty joke to give ground as the chief topics of conversation in barber shops. Even the noble knights of the Ku Klux Klan know that they cannot attract a korporal's guard to a rally on Sunday afternoon.

Professional football has changed the whole character of Sunday afternoon in this fair land.

There was a time, and not so long ago, when the man of the house loaded his family into the car on Sunday afternoon and went forth on something known as a "Sunday drive." There was a time when Sunday afternoon meant a long walk in the country or a long nap. Friends dropped in to visit one another and talked drowsily about how much chicken they ate for dinner, some small crisis in the neighborhood or at the office, and their children's problems with their teachers, dentists and bad colds.

Sunday afternoon was the one segment of the week when there was no real pressure on anybody.

Now professional football has made it a time of terrible tension for everyone — husbands, wives, children, quarterbacks, cornerbacks, split ends, coaches, announcers, gamblers, second-guessers, everyone. The life of an entire nation is focused on a small glowing screen on the front of a box.

One recent Sunday afternoon we decided to break out of this pattern of concentration on the small glowing screen. By an extreme effort of will, we broke the trance and went out to D. C. stadium to see professional football played in person.

We went in a spirit of scientific inquiry, to compare the game itself to the ritual shadow play on the glowing screen. They turned out to be two distinctly different experiences.

For one thing, nobody at the stadium kept quiet, as the children and the lady of the house and any visitors know to do at home. People kept screaming and whooping and jumping up and down, and the distractions ranged from coveys of cheerleaders to a man on our aisle who kept ordering a steady stream of peanuts, hot dogs, beer, Cokes and such that had to be passed to him.

It was cold and there was a sharp wind, and nobody turned up the thermostat.

Several season-ticket holders just behind us were deeply embittered peo-

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ple — owning season tickets for the Redskins seems to do that to you — and they sustained a scathing commentary on the players, the coaches and their heritage.

A steady procession of airplanes flew over, pulling distracting advertising messages while the ball was in play rather than holding the commercials for time-outs.

The game itself somehow seemed to lack the precision that it has on the small glowing screen. We had a low angle of view, and large tackles kept obscuring the quarterback. There was no way to zoom in on the vital action, and we were forever searching for it on a big field untidily littered with 22 thumping, thudding, scrambling, struggling bodies. It was not neat.

We missed one important play when everyone stood up to watch a fight in the stands, and another when somebody spilled hot coffee on our ankle.

When it was over and the Redskins had lost — that part was like watching at home, anyway — we had to walk a mile to the car, and our sock was still wet.

Perhaps the point is that when the whole country is caught up in a football-watching ritual, the best thing to do is to go along with it instead of being a smart-aleck and going to the game.

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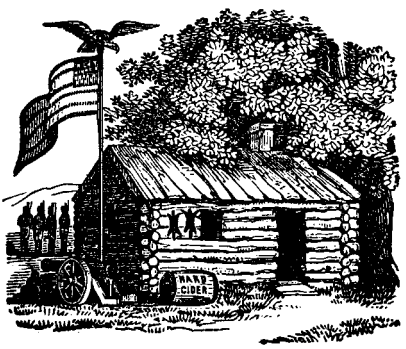

The Press: Scratch Three More

AMONG THE OBITUARIES published over the past few months have been those announcing the death of three city daily papers: the *San Francisco-Call Bulletin*, the *Indianapolis Times* and the *Atlanta Times*.

The *News-Call Bulletin* was a Hearst paper that had experienced large operating losses. The *Indianapolis Times* was a Scripps-Howard paper that had experienced large operating losses. The *Atlanta Times* was the recent creation of a conservative syndicate that had experienced large operating losses.

Their demise is no novelty in American journalism. We have been moving towards the total elimination of competition between dailies for some time and the march will only be halted by lack of additional papers to be merged or put out of business.

Editor & Publisher, a newspaper trade magazine written in the chauvinistic style of all great trade publications, does not see anything wrong with this. In fact, it has demanded that the press tell the public how wonderful these developments are:

"San Francisco used to have four daily papers," *E&P* said, "more recently it has had three, and now it has two. The reading public doesn't understand the reason why. . . . It doesn't understand that the remaining two newspapers will be healthier, improved products better able to serve the readers and advertisers of San Francisco than the previous combination of three papers. . . .

"The newspaper business in these United States today is growing, healthy and prosperous. Why don't a few publishers and editors come out in print and tell the reading public — including a few influential advertisers — the facts?"

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HUGH HAYNIE ...

The Comeback Trail

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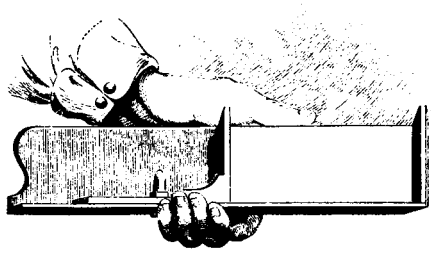

Editor and Publisher forgets that most of its editor-subscribers spend a good deal of time telling the reading public of the wonders of capitalism and attacking the government for alleged affronts to free competition. The *Atlanta Constitution,* consequently, may be a little leery of crowing too loudly of the *Times'* death. And the *Indianapolis News* might have a hard time convincing its readers that it had performed a public service by running Scripps-Howard out of town.

Newspapers are great defenders of our system of private enterprise. They foster the idea (also cherished by Lion's Club speakers and Republican congressmen) that America was founded to make commerce and — only incidentally — men free.

As transformed upon the editorial page, the early leaders of the country turn into framers of a national charter remarkably similar to the platform of the National Association of Manufacturers. And our economic system becomes an idealistic picture of fair and open competition that, in reality, has been unknown in many industries for decades.

But if editors have romantic yearnings for the free enterprise system it is perhaps because so few of them ever come in contact with it within their own trade. Out of 80 cities with large circulation dailies, less than one-third have competing papers. It must be tough (and indicative of the self-sacrificing fortitude of newspaper editors) to write day after day on behalf of a system in which you are not allowed to participate.

The publisher of the late *Atlanta Times,* James C. Davis, had faith in free enterprise. Announcing his new paper in 1964, Judge Davis said:

"A conservative is a person who believes in the principle of every person standing on his own two feet, making his own way through private enterprise and not looking to bureaucratic, centralized government to provide all his needs from the cradle to the grave. He is one who believes in personal liberty. By this definition, the *Atlanta Times* will be a conservative newspaper."

Would Judge Davis now accept the conservative view that in a competitive battle the best product always wins? I wonder.

I wonder if the 70-year-old former congressman lies awake occasionally pondering why a paper that had a distinctive view to espouse and 93,000 paid readers could not survive in Atlanta. How popular must your editorial approach be, how much money must you expend, before you are permitted to exist, to be heard?

In most cities with dailies the price is too high. In most towns with weeklies the price is too high. The economic ecology is such that only rarely will it support more than one newspaper corporation in a community. *Editor & Publisher* is right: the newspaper *business* is healthy and prosperous. But that health and prosperity has been bought at the expense of the institution of a free and diverse press. Is it just coincidence that three of the daily papers most frequently praised in this country — the *New York Times,* the *Washington Post.* the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—are published in cities where newspaper competition still exists?

The disappearance of newspaper competition is not, in the main, the result of a sinister plot to deny the public information. In some cities papers have deliberately and successfully directed their efforts at not only beating the competition but destroying it entirely. But the primary villains have been rising production costs and the splitting of advertising revenue with the broadcasting industry.

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In 1950 approximately 36% of advertising expenditures went to newspapers and about 14% to broadcasting. By 1964 the figures were roughly 29% for newspapers and 21% for broadcasting. If the 1950 percentages had held up there would have been about one billion dollars more annual revenue available to support newspapers.

The extent to which the advertising dollar is fragmented to support various communications services can be seen by the example of Washington. Washington is almost unique in that it can boast three independently owned daily newspapers. But the local advertiser is not only approached by the *Post*, the *Star* and the *News*. He may also be hit by five television stations (six before long), 22 radio stations, one monthly magazine and numerous community weeklies.

On the surface, there would appear to be adequate diversity for Washington's listeners and readers even if the *Star* and *News* were to fold tomorrow. But the catalogue is misleading. For while broadcasting stations, community papers and shopper's guides compete for the advertising revenue with the dailies, they do not compete in news coverage.

Walter Cronkite, the news mogul of CBS, candidly admits this. In a speech to newspaper editors this fall he said:

"Fifty-five per cent, according to recent surveys, of the American public, said they get most of their news from radio and television.

"If that's the case, 55 per cent of our public is inadequately informed. . . The problem is that we do such a good job, such a slick job in our presentation of the news that we have deluded the public into a belief that they are getting all they need to know from us."

And Mr. Cronkite noted that a half-hour news program, read straight through with little illustrative material, would barely cover the contents of the front page of the *New York Times*.

(As for the community papers within cities, they are generally a mockery of journalism, seldom making any serious attempt to cover the news, and as editorially independent of their major advertisers as *Tass* is of the Communist Central Committee.)

Mr. Cronkite suggests that due to the lack of competition from other newspapers, journals in many communities are such "that the people do not find any more there than they get on their electronic tube."

"Without competition," he said, "it becomes a great deal easier to yield to the momentary pressures of receding profit and to reduce news coverage when that coverage should be increased."

Free enterprise has obviously failed the press and its readers. The competitive model has broken down and in its place we are left with a string of monopolies each controlling an inviolable area, policed in local coverage only by the meagre journalistic efforts of broadcasting stations.

Some television and radio stations can point to notable achievements in keeping their local paper honest. Some show a good deal of journalistic ingenuity and aggressiveness on their own. But as a general rule, a television station has neither the manpower nor the inclination to unravel a complicated local issue involving, say, zoning

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variances, government contracts or city planning.

The station will tend to rely upon the newspaper for "technical stuff like that" and unless someone happens to be indicted or unless a high official puts out a critical press release, the TV outlet will probably, like the rest of the community, accept the newspaper's version of the truth.

This is a problem which should concern us more than it does. Unfortunately, public concern is in part dependent upon the concern of the press, which, in this case, is just about nil. The press, like all monopolistic enterprises, is content with its triumph over economic adversity.

Clearly, the daily press is not going to be revived by the influences at work in the marketplace. If there is any hope at all, it lies elsewhere.

Back in 1947, A. J. Leibling, that most able critic of the press (and how many libraries at the so-called journalism schools carry his writings? As the late David Boroff discovered in an extensive survey, not many), offered at least a partial solution. At a Dartmouth symposium Mr. Leibling predicted that labor unions, citizens' organizations and possibly political parties would back daily papers.

"These," he suggested, "will represent definite, undisguised points of view, and will serve as controls on the large profit-making papers expressing define, ill-disguised points of view."

He added:

"I also hope that we will live to see the endowed newspaper, devoted to the pursuit of daily truth as Dartmouth is to that of knowledge. . . . I think that a good newspaper is as truly an educational institution as a college, so I don't see why it should have to stake its survival on attracting advertisers of ball-point pens and tickets to Hollywood peep shows."

Leibling admitted that the hardest problem would be to get the chief donor (possibly a repentant tabloid publisher) to "(a) croak, or (b) sign a legally binding agreement never to stick his face in the editorial rooms."

Mr. Leibling's hopes, worthy as they were, have yet to be fulfilled. To be sure, the public affairs magazines of the country are kept alive by endowments and subsidies of one sort or another. There are hardly any of smaller circulation than *Time* and *Newsweek* that do not depend for their existence upon benefactors.

But we Americans believe that worth is directly related to profit, and — with the exception of educational broadcasting and magazines — we seldom find communications services supported for reasons other than profit. The idea of a daily paper without real prospect of financial success is alien to us.

I would like, though, to see it given a try. A large foundation with conservative inclinations could have kept the *Atlanta Times* alive. The AFL-CIO could easily support a daily or two (just as it has supported Edward P. Morgan and his predecessors on their nightly broadcasts through the years).

The Fund for the Republic might help provide some liberal competition for a reactionary daily. Political parties—such as is the case in some European countries—could support papers. And innumerable organizations ranging from the ACLU to the Farm Bureau, to the United Mine Workers, the ADA, the ACA and the NAM, could give up their excruciatingly dull newsletters and house organs and expend their journalistic efforts and financial resources to better effect by backing papers representing their views. For all its drawbacks, a daily and weekly press supported by interest groups and foundations would be a welcomed addition to a daily and weekly press backed by publishers whose journalistic vitality has withered from being too long too near the blast furnace of commercial desire.

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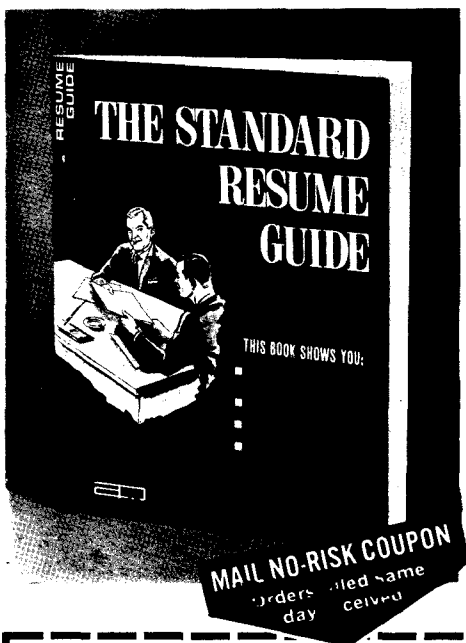
WRITE YOUR JOB-WINNING RESUME!

THE STANDARD RESUME GUIDE



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The Lyndon Men

"Mr. Kennedy — he dead."

We are the Lyndon men
We are the Yes men
Consensusing together
Ten-gallon hat filled with straw poll.
Our silent voices
When we reason together
Are quite meaningless
As puffs of non-lethal gas
Or rice-soldiers' feet over burning jungle grass
In our bomb-sheltered nuclear shield
Rape without norm, Hades without color,
Garrulized force, gesture without notion;
Those who have made the crossing
With Christi's Corpus, to Pedernales' other Lyndondum
Let us not as double-crossed
Cow palace souls, but only
As the Lyndon men
The Yes men

II

In Lyndondum's Great Kingdom
There is a Linden tree
And choices are
In the clouds echoing
More mordant and more mammoth
Than a firing star
Let me be nearer
In Lyndondum's Kingdom
Let me also bear
In considerate reprises
Diplomat's coat, buckskin, amid crossed graves
In a rice paddy
So nearer —
Got that Cabinet meeting
In the twilight Lyndon room

III

This is the Lyndon land
This is the cactus land
Here the Alamo images
Are raised, here they recede
From the petition in a dead man's hand
Under the nay palm of a raiding starfire
It is like this
In Lyndondum's Kingdom

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Flying alone
At the altitudes where we are
Strangleloving with kindness
Hands that would shake
Press buttons to escalate
Heavenward

IV

The flies are not here
There are no lords here
In the valley of Texan stars
In this hollowman's valley
This rotary spoke and claw of our last Kingdom's
In this blast to end all the races
We reason together
And avoid reach
Landing on this beach-head of the timid war
Soundless, unless
From the blasts we can hear
In the perpetual blare
Defoliate rose
Of Lyndon's twilight Kingdom
Comes the tweedle-dee only
Of Humphrey-Bundy men

V

Here we go round the barebcue pit
At prime time in the aftermath
Between the idea man
And the Great Society
Between the shadowman
And the radioactivity
Fails the Safety-tee
For thine is the electrification
and damnation of the countryside.
Between the inauguration
And the open door
Between the umpire
And the world war
Falters the Great Democracy.
For thine is the
last stand at Saigon.
For Look is
Life is
For Look is the
This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
Not with a buck but a bang

— *by John Quirk*

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Ichabod's Draft Card

By Uncle Abner

SALTLICKHAM

ICHABOD NORTLE BURNED his draft card the other day and got arrested for it. Not by the FBI either. Police Chief Matt Mudgette sent his deputy Merton Fudge over to do the job.

Mudgette told me when we got to talking over coffee at Miller's the other day that he had read where they needed six federal agents to arrest that fellow up in New York a few months back, but he figured just one of Merton could subdue the offender in this case.

Of course, it wasn't quite like you're probably thinking. They never did get around to sending the local police a copy of that new federal law against draft card burning, so when the time came to charge Ichabod the only thing Chief Mudgette could cite to back up his case was a local ordinance against arson. Besides, Ichabod lit a match to his card right there in the public library and, as Elizabeth pointed out, they don't even allow smoking in there.

Ichabod says he don't believe in the war in Vietnam. He's an honest type, pretty religious and all and Mudgette had to admit he never got into any trouble before. But the Chief's the kind of guy who will give you a ticket for doing 32 in a 30 mile zone. Not that he's mean or anything; he just pays kind of particular attention to the small print of the law.

I know that what Ichabod did was illegal but it seems like everyone around here got a mite too fired up about it. I argued with the boy myself for about two hours a couple of days before what Charlie Thurston (in the *Saltlickham Picayune-Item*) called the "dastardly act" took place. I told Ichabod: "If everyone was like you, this world would be a better place. But since there are just a few of you pacifiers around, you're going to get into trouble. You can count on that, now I'll tell you."

By the time we'd stopped going around on Vietnam for the 46th time Ichabod had me feeling confused. I told him I thought we had to do something in Vietnam. He told me war was wrong. I told him I thought war was wrong too but sometimes you got to do things that are bad to avoid getting into worse trouble. He said we were killing peasants and letting the Vietnamese torture prisoners and such. I told him I didn't think much of a lot of things America was doing over across there. He said then I agreed with him. Well, not exactly, I told him. Why not, he wanted to know. I said there was a big difference between wanting to help South Vietnam and agreeing with everything Washington did about it.

Finally I said, "Oh hell, what's the use? You're going to burn your draft card and get in trouble and all those blasted self-righteous types like Charlie Thurston are going to say you're hurting democracy and all.

"I don't agree with you but I'll tell you one thing. You got least a ton more guts than the Throttleby boy up on the Bingham Road who wangled a deferment last month or that

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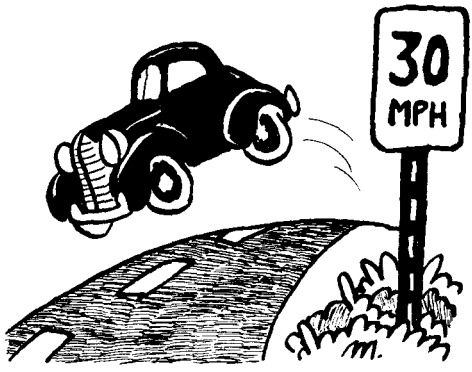
friend of yours who's going to graduate college so he won't have to go into the Army. They'll just slide by, won't stir up any fuss, and everyone will think they're fine patriotic Americans. But you are going to do what you believe is right and everybody's going to be nasty about it. It don't add up. I don't know how to explain why, Ichabod, but I like disagreeing with you one helluva lot more than I like agreeing with some of the people around here."

Ichabod thanked me and left. Few days later, after he'd been arrested, I went down to try to bail him out. But Ichabod wouldn't hear of it.



As I was leaving the jail, Chief Mudgette called me over and said confidential to me, "Abner, I hope the judge isn't too hard on the kid. I just wanted to get hold of him before the FBI did."

"Eyah," I said.

"I can't see sending Ichabod up for five years because he believes war is wrong and tries to do something about it, though it is a trifle against the law. You got to admire conscience even if it makes a man do damn fool things."

"Eyah," I said, "but you don't sound like the Chief Mudgette I know."

"Oh yeah?" he replied, putting on his mean cop look, "Just let me catch you doing 40 on the Bingham Road sometime."

Elizabeth says I got to stop talking about Ichabod so there will be a little space left for she and me to wish all you readers a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year. She's right.

Food for Peace Program: Better Recipe Needed

By Roger Bernstein

Just how good is our Food for Peace program? In this article Roger Bernstein takes a hard look, finds some serious defects, and suggests ways in which the program might be improved:

WHEN PUBLIC LAW 480 was written it was intended as a massive but temporary disposal measure that would relieve the pressures in the United States caused by agricultural surpluses and postwar changes in agriculture. The imprecision of its language, its confused purposes, and its inherent weaknesses were not overly critical in a short-lived program.

But P.L. 480 survived, grew into the Food-for-Peace program and now

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accounts for about one-third of all American agricultural exports. It is one of the most complex operations ever to result from the passage of a public law. The complexity stems from its two dissimilar objectives: agricultural surplus disposal and foreign assistance.

Following the end of the Korean conflict, surpluses in the inventories of the Commodity Credit Corporation began to increase at a geometric rate, reaching the highest levels in history. During this same period support prices for wheat and cotton were increased. thereby aggravating the surplus situation. In 1952, the CCC was spending $100-thousand per month to store cotton. By 1956 the monthly expense had mounted to $2.3 million. The cost for storing wheat went from $2 million to $15 million per month.

In spite of an expressed desire to "expand international trade . . . to facilitate the convertibility of currency . . . to encourage economic development . . . and to promote collective strength," the major purpose of the act, as initially approved in 1954, was to stimulate the expansion of foreign trade in those commodities which the U. S. raised in surplus quantities.

The act had three titles with a combined authorization of $1 billion.

Title I, carrying an authorization of up to $700 million, empowered the President to negotiate and implement agreements with friendly nations that would result in the sale of United States surplus agricultural commodities for foreign currencies (counterpart funds). The stocks for export were to come from the inventories of the Commodity Credit Corporation, if available, or from stocks mortgaged to the CCC, or from private stocks as the final alternative.

In negotiating agreements with friendly nations the President was directed to safeguard normal United States marketing processes as well as to take steps that would use private trade channels to the maximum practical extent.

The agreement also had to include a commitment from participating countries that would prevent the resale, transhipment, or use for other than domestic purposes of the Title I commodities purchased. Finally, the President was to give special consideration to the development of new market areas abroad while affording friendly nations the maximum opportunity to purchase surplus agricultural commodities from the United States.

Title II authorized a maximum expenditure of $300 million by the CCC for famine relief and other urgent relief requirements in any nation "friendly to the United States or to friendly but needy populations without regard to the friendliness of their government." Such relief was to be on a grant basis.

Title III "directed the Secretary of Agriculture to make CCC inventories available for barter or exchange whenever it would profit the CCC to do so. Such a situation might arise if there was a possibility of obtaining strategic materials in exchange for agricultural surpluses.

Title III also provided for domestic use of the surplus commodities for disaster relief, for use in acutely distressed areas, and for school-lunch programs.

That the act was originally intended primarily as a surplus disposal program was indicated by the insistence of the Eisenhower Administration upon short-term contracts, contracts that showed no concern for the integration of the commodities into the economic plans of the recipient countries. Also, the problems caused by rapidly growing supplies of counterpart funds were largely ignored.

Even before the law had become fully operational, amendments and other laws were approved that further emphasized surplus disposal.

The leading period for surplus disposal operations under the act was 1956-1957. Transactions then amounted to 33 per cent of total agricultural exports. Competitors of the United States who had been watching the effect of P.L. 480 with increasing alarm began to take diplomatic and commercial action against

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this country. Canada threatened to divert a portion of her trade from the United States to the United Kingdom. Countries, such as Burma, who were benefiting from one phase of the program while being harmed by another, also complained. India led the recipient countries in demanding that grants be put on a long-term basis.

The first major change in the program came at this juncture. The pressure to sell which had turned the agricultural attachés at the American embassies into hucksters was reduced, as was the support price on wheat. Thus, the first steps were taken to integrate the P.L. 480 operation into a program that better served the overall interests of this country.

In 1959 President Eisenhower, in an address to Congress, spoke of the need for a Food-for-Peace operation. To further this end he appointed Dr. Don Paarlberg, a noted agricultural economist, as the first coordinator of the program.

In his book, *American Farm Policy: A Case Study in Centralized Decision Making,* Dr. Paarlberg commented on this shift in policy:

The surplus disposal features were retained, but there was added the positive view that the program could be used to advance the foreign economic policy of the United States. The reasoning is as follows: Agricultural capability is a great asset which we have, which our friends need, and which our rivals lack. Agriculture represents our greatest relative and absolute advantage over the Communist world. We should lead out from the area of our strength, rather than await and respond to the challenge issued by our rivals, which will always be addressed to some area in which we are weak.

The wording of Title IV, added in 1959, reflected the new direction of the program. This title authorized the sale of surplus agricultural commodities abroad for dollars, with the United States providing long-term credit. It was stated that Title IV would aid the economic development of the recipient nation by freeing some of its resources for industrial and other domestic development. Shipments under this title were to extend over a maximum of ten years with repayment to be delayed for as long as twenty years after the receipt of the final shipment. At least 5 per cent of the Title IV proceeds had to be used to develop new markets for future sales.

In 1961, President Kennedy, in his second executive order, created the White House Office of Food-for-Peace with George S. McGovern of South Dakota at director. He called upon the director "to consider very carefully the intimate relationships between our foreign agricultural activities and other aspects of our foreign assistance program."

From its inception, Title I aid has been withheld from the U.S.S.R. or "any nation or area dominated or controlled by the foreign government or foreign organization controlling the world Communist movement." In 1964 the legislation was expanded to include, for the purpose of Title I only "any nation or area dominated or controlled by a Communist Government," or any nation trading with Cuba. This modification was directed at preventing Title I sales to Poland and Yugoslavia while allowing them to participate in Title IV transactions under less favorable credit terms.

Theodore W. Schultz, agricultural economist at the University of Chicago, has estimated that about 30 per cent of the benefits of P.L. 480 accrues directly to the farmer in this country. Another 22 per cent benefits the United States in general, and slightly less than 50 per cent can be charged as foreign aid.

There can be no doubt about the importance of the role of the Food-for-Peace program in our total agricultural export effort. Yet the cost of this program has been staggering. If we assume the goods exported to be economically free goods (they would have accumulated in the absence of P.L. 480 due to price-support operations and hence represent no additional cost to the government), the CCC has still expended $4,2-billion for Title I

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transactions alone since the inception of the program.

This amount includes the loss to the CCC from selling price-support stocks at the substantially lower world market price and also includes a $1 billion subsidy that the CCC has paid to American shipowners for moving the goods.

To make the assumption that these goods are free goods, however, is to regard the domestic farm program as incapable of being reformed as well as ignoring the very real costs of production that have gone into these goods, whether they are ultimately exported or whether they are stored until they rot.

Another danger of the Food-for-Peace program is that it has, in recent years, comprised about 1/3 of the total economic assistance effort put forth by the United States. Although food and fiber can be useful for economic development purposes, they are not a perfect substitute for dollar aid. The successful operation of a program that uses food and fiber for economic development purposes depends upon realizing a balance of food aid and dollar aid. Trouble comes when legislators believe that they can shave money from foreign aid appropriations and make good this cut by proportionally increasing the authorizations for the Food-for-Peace program.

Another formidable problem is created by the phenomenon of counterpart funds.

Public Law 480 transactions generate more than $900 million annually in local currencies. The Development Loan Fund adds an additional $500-$800 million per year. These funds can't be used to finance additional imports into the country, for this would result in the loss of scarce foreign exchange by the country. They do not serve as an addition to the real resources of the country and are not a substitute for dollar aid. Although this is the case, those who must guide renewals of P.L. 480 and similar measures through Congress have not been above leading all-too-eager legislators to believe that food aid not only substitutes for dollar aid, but that this food aid is rendered doubly valuable through the "magic" of counterpart funds.

Of course there are embarrassing reactions when Congressmen ask witnesses why increased authorizations for Food-for-Peace are needed when the United States holds almost $2 billion of counterpart funds abroad. Then the witnesses must try to undo what has already been said as they admit that because of their inconvertibility counterpart funds are less than 100 per cent useful in almost all countries in which P.L. 480 operates. In eight countries the United States now holds more local currency than present or projected future needs can absorb.

In Poland 95 per cent of the sales proceeds were still tied up in local currency accounts as of June 30, 1964. In India and Nepal the United States holds almost 30 per cent of all sales proceeds to date in such accounts.

One possible reason for allowing counterpart funds to grow is the balance of payments benefit derived by the United States in fulfilling a portion of its obligations through these accounts, thereby conserving dollars. However it is obvious that the countries in which the United States holds the majority of these funds are not the same countries with which she must settle the bulk of her international accounts. Since the funds are largely inconvertible, they prove of slight value to the effort of the United States to equilibrate her balance of payments.

The cost to the United States of accumulating and holding these funds has been much greater than their mere physical cost, enough perhaps to negate the salubrious effects of the Food-for-Peace program. One does not reform an eccentric uncle by forcing non-relatives to tolerate his infirmities anymore than the proponents of foreign aid can expect those outside this country to inconvenience themselves because of the eccentric character of our legislative process.

To prevent the further buildup of the currencies as new agreements are

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signed, the United States attempts to re-loan the currencies to the recipient countries at rates of interest of four per cent. Countries can circumvent this in several ways. They can borrow money from their own Central Bank at a much lower rate, they can print money up to the amount the United States holds in blocked accounts, or they can borrow money from other sources.

A country would normally induce inflation if it increased its money supply by the simple expedient of printing more money. However, as the United States can not spend its local currencies until an agreement on uses is reached with the recipient country, the country can feel safe in printing money. In effect they are borrowing from the United States, but the only cost they are paying is that of paper and ink. If, after the money supply is augmented, America decides to spend some of her local currency, the nation has only to complain that by doing so the United States would precipitate an inflation in that country, and the United States will back down.

In order to satisfy the domestic bureaucratic procedures which regulate the re-lending of the currencies, the United States must indulge in unconscionable meddling in the affairs of the recipient county. So the host countries are obliged to endure insulting probing of their financial affairs so they can qualify for borrowing money that they don't want at rates that are too high, so they can continue to receive food that America doesn't want.

It is clear that certain changes have to be made in the operation of Food-for-Peace if its continuation is to be in the best interests of the United States.

P.L. 480 can be considered as a foreign assistance measure only insofar as it contributes to the economic development of the recipient country.

Yet parts of the program offset or negate the value of the commodities for this purpose. Shipments, for example, include a disproportionate amount of grain. Pound for pound grain is not the best available source of protein in the diet and this disadvantage can not be overcome by increasing the amount of grain programmed. Upland cotton has no food value and yet it has constituted about 9 per cent of all Title I transactions.

The necessity for "selling" our surpluses and the consequent accumulations of counterpart funds have indirectly hurt the program by discouraging participation in the program by countries who might otherwise benefit. The use of counterpart balances by America has in many instances acted against the success of the development effort in recipient nations. This has come about because of the proclivity of the United States to grant aid on a project basis rather than on a program basis. The former may be a sensible course when the country in question lacks an overall plan guiding its economic development. In this case, the granting of the counterpart funds for the construction of specific projects like roads and power stations may serve the best interests of the recipient country. But if a country has an overall plan, then the United States is diverting resources from that plan to the extent that it sponsors projects that are not included in the plan. If these projects necessitate the use of scarce foreign exchange then the damage is compounded. If the country proceeds with both the projects and the program which they have deemed important, then inflation will be the likely result.

One of the fundamental difficulties in the program stems from the humanitarian motives which underlie it. There is a Chinese proverb that goes:

"Give a man a fish and he eats for a day;

"Teach him to fish and he will eat for the rest of his days."

Providing people with food without preparing them to supply their own needs increases their dependence on the aid for it destroys the natural balance of food and population within the country. For this reason the school-lunch programs are especially harmful.

Please turn to page 20

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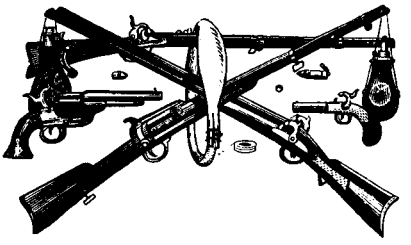
Mortars for the Stockings of



By Nelson Magruder

WHEN WE WERE KIDS and out playing guns, how we yearned for a cap pistol that would really shoot. Realism was what we wanted and any kid whose father or uncle sent him a practice carbine from boot camp, or a dummy hand grenade, or a set of sergeant's stripes, was top dog. Today's kids wouldn't give that stuff a second look — what they can get down at the toy store is far niftier than the real thing. They have their choice of potting their playmates with a machine gun bullet, a rifle slug, a pistol shot, a rocket, a hand grenade (all plastic, of course) or letting him have it with a sneaky invisible burst of air powerful enough to knock his plastic helmet off at 15 feet.

There has been a revolution in toy-making since Dad had to spend his Christmas mornings during the World War II metal shortage punching out parts and putting tab A into slot B to make a slightly warped cardboard battleship. Judging from the fire-power being brandished on my block alone, the toy manufacturers are in an escalating arms race. The resulting array of weaponry for the pint-sized paramilitary set would cause a Pentagon purchasing agent to boggle.

The neighborhood toy store looks like a quartermaster depot. The back-yard fighting man can outfit himself (or, rather, be outfitted at great cost by his fretful parents) in all manner of get-ups, including weird little Monkey Patrol helmets with built-in radio antennae, field jackets, full combat packs, even tiny white moulages to simulate casualties. Space helmets are old hat — hardly worth considering unless they have special cosmic ray visors, built-in flashing code lamps and sirens (to prevent, the TV ads say, bike collisions).

Junior chooses his shootin' iron with all the care of Galahad at the armorer's and spends hours picking out a new rod. There are genuine booby-traps that explode a cap when triggered by the unwary enemy; Buck Rogerish pistols that shoot a powerful blast of air; monstrous things a child can hardly lift which fire bullets (single-fire or full automatic) mortars, hand grenades, and rockets (and which have a pistol stashed away in the stock for when you run out of ammo); bazookas, miniature cannon with trajectory-correcting cranks and much more.

Over on the espionage side, the little man can get a fake camera that becomes — presto — an ugly Luger-like cap-shooting pistol at the press of a button; a fake transistor radio that turns into a stubby cap-shooting rifle complete with folding stock and telescopic sight, an 007 torture table; a pen that writes in invisible ink and snazzy sunglasses to read the ink with — all of which fit into a Bondish attache case.

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ıe Pint-size Paramilitary Set

For rainy, stay-indoors days, the kids can haul out their little G. I. Joe combat manikins which (shades of Ken and Barbie) are available with enough optional equipment to get Joe through any conceivable military situation, from underwater demolition to outer space, to headquarters duty. Or, they can set up their mock-up space capsule and fly a simulated voyage to the moon, panel lights blinking and TV scanner glowing all the way out and back. For just plain old-fashioned "playing soldiers," whole battalions of plastic infantrymen are available — firing rifles, carrying stretchers, thrusting bayonets, lobbing hand grenades. And there are enough tanks, cannon, landing barges and armored cars to go with them to fill up a staging area. Then there are tiny space men, with battery-powered, tentacled monsters to chase and mangle them.

As one toy-maker said, explaining that he had manufactured a game called "Combat," or "Blitz" or something because his son didn't seem to have enough toys "Now he's got everything he needs for total war."

". . . . and please send me a real 007 torture rack."

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Once the children leave school the food is no longer available to feed them. The various programs which operate abroad to distribute food directly to people also leave much to be desired.

Title IV sales for dollars are still too recent to prove their value. If they serve as a transitional step between Title I sales and normal commercial transactions, they will be acceptable. However if they degenerate into long-run affairs they will undoubtedly injure normal sales.

In fact, the only phase of P.L. 480 which can withstand criticism is Title II, the famine relief provision. It has been successful because it was based on the sound experience of previous legislation and has remained within its bounds. Even so, the requirement that each package be labeled "A gift from the people of the United States," has prompted Senator Fulbright to remark, ". . . I think we might agree that it is not an altogether heartwarming experience to be confronted with a gift of food whose label seems to convey the message that 'the soup which you are about to consume is a charity from the great and generous and affluent people of someplace or other.'"

P.L. 480 has a place in the American foreign assistance effort only if it is redesigned to make use of food and fiber for economic development purposes.

This can be accomplished in two ways.

Food-for-work programs, successfully pioneered in Tunisia in 1958, are one way of combining surplus disposal with economic development. In the Tunisian program native workers were paid in wheat donated by the U. S., supplemented by local currency supplied by the Tunisian government. Projects, mainly designed to supply and conserve water, were planned locally and received excellent local supervision. This type of program puts underemployed men to work, feeds them, and also improves the long-term ability of the country to feed itself.

Food can also be used to relieve some of the internal pressure of economic development. As the standard of living rises, hungry people will be able to purchase more food. At the same time, increased opportunity in the city will cause a shift of workers out of agriculture. Thus growing demand for food in the face of a steady or declining production could cause food prices to increase. At this point an injection of food into the market (through P.L. 480) could forestall a price rise until native productivity increased to fill the gap.

One of the most important things which would have to be incorporated into a successful program would be means of preventing distortion of the domestic pattern of production in the recipient country. To divert producers from wheat production into tobacco production because wheat is imported, as occured in India, only succeeds in increasing the domestic dependence on imported food.

There is a healthy trend toward multilateralism in foreign assistance. Policy makers realize that the aim of aid should properly be the economic development of the backward areas of the world and not their involvement in a series of alliances based on inequality.

As Fulbright has noted:

The fundamental difference between bilaterialism and multilateralism in foreign aid is psychological. The one carries the connotation of charity, of patron and ward, of arrogance and humiliation; the other has the more dignified connotation of a community organized to meet its common and rightful responsibilities toward its less fortunate members. The one is appropriate in a world of nation states with unlimited sovereignty, the other in a world that is at least groping toward a broader community.

Multilateralism would add other benefits to the development effort. It would remove much of the domestic political pressure that acts on the foreign aid effort. Eugene Black, former President of the World Bank has said, "Economic priorities are inevitably confused when economic objectivity is lost—and economic objectivity is not

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easy when aid is influenced by political ends."

It is easier to get the necessary cooperation from the recipient country when it is dealing with a non-political organization like the World Bank or the United Nations rather than with the United States whose most sincere efforts seem like those of a finance company guarding its interests.

To bring about these changes in the Food-for-Peace program requires legislative revision of P.L. 480 to transform it from a temporary measure to a long-run effort. A good first step would be the granting of accumulated surplus currencies back to the recipient nations, keeping only enough in United States accounts to cover present and immediate future expenses. This would prove to be largely a paper gift, both the U. S. and the recipient countries regarding these largely inconvertible currencies as valueless. Nevertheless, the threat of inflation precipitated by the United States spending this money would be permanently removed. The next step should be to redesign the program so the accumulation of these currencies would no longer take place.

Other changes should include changing the type and proportions of commodities shipped, operating on a multilateral basis, operating in the context of an overall development plan for each recipient nation, emphasizing program not project aid, and balancing food vs. dollar aid. A Food-for-Peace program along these lines would go a long way toward reaching the goal of effective use of food and fiber for economic development.

CREDITS

The character sketches are drawn by John Perts, of Suffolk, Va.

Some of the incidental drawings are by Mike Bell, of Arlington, Mass.

Bob and Susie Sanderson, of Bristol, R. I., helped — as usual — with the production of this issue.

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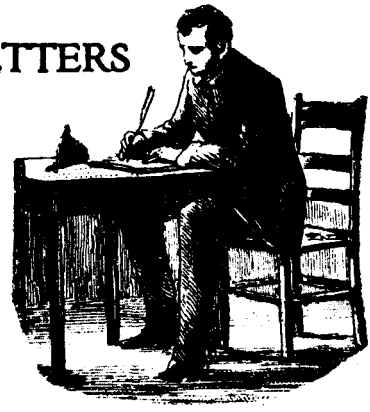
LETTERS



SITUATION IMPROVED

Currently, the situation on Community Action projects with the Indians in South Dakota has improved somewhat. Recently, we announced about $800,000 in Community Action Programs to two tribes.

George McGovern
U. S. Senator

Senator McGovern refers to the November issue which contained his comments on the difficulties Indian tribes were having in getting community action programs going.—Ed.

WANTS BACK ISSUES

I am trying to get a full set of all the earlier copies of THE IDLER for a library collection. If any subscribers who still have copies of number 4 for December 1964 and Number 5 for January 1965 would please send them to me, it would be very helpful.

Don Whisenhunt
Box 4339
Lubbock, Texas 79409

POLYGLOT DEFENSE

In your October issue you printed an article, "Why Save New York?"

The article, struck me as a piece of pure nativist, neo-populist rant on in two words, countrified cant. Your diatribistic remarks concerning New

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York's having destroyed (one) television, (two) literature, (three) art, (four) advertising, and (five) culture in general, show a lack of perspective worthy of Sockless Jerry Simpson.

In this article, you blame a group of approximately 12,180 people (the combined managerial forces of the New York television, advertising, publishing, art, and theatre industries) for, may I say it, everything. It is too obvious to link your view of society with that of the Birchnicks who see the communists at the heart of everything, or with that of the communists who see the capitalists at the heart of everything, or with that of the capitalists who see left wingers at the heart of everything, or even to that of certain European heads of states who during the thirties saw the Jews at the heart of everything — everything wrong that is. What I want to point out, however, is the way this article exemplifies the growing tendency of your magazine to become a vehicle for sentiment that is anti-urban, anti-cultural, and anti-everything not small-town America, preferably Maine small-town.

New York, Sir, is not the melting pot of America but the crucible of America. Into this city have poured, as you rightly state, the worst elements of this country, but only because the best were already here and constantly coming in. Degeneracy, after all, can only be noticed in comparison with excellence. This city with its mixture of races *is* America. New York is not its museums, theatres, stadiums, skyscrapers and money, but its people for it is people that give it both its vitality and its problems. The narrowness of your article and indeed the meaness of mind which it shows reflects at its worst the small-town mentality that resents the new polyglot culture of the cities, especially that of New York. It is a dangerously easy step from a seemingly calm and satiric piece like yours to a vile attack against the Jews, the Bankers, the Irish-Catholic politicians, and against all the others who live in cities—somehow never in the small towns—and are ruining our pure Anglo-Saxon America. Your tongue-in-cheek suggestion to let New York perish for lack of water is a clever surface example of the deeper despair of all those who want to abolish the twentieth century and step back in time to an America without big cities, without foreigners, and without complications, in short, to an America that never was. Wipe our New York, and all will be well, we can all go back to nineteenth century Ohio. Bosh, Sir, bosh! Your whole article is enmeshed in bosh! New York represents a part of America that is and a part of America that will be. Even to dream of abolishing it is to hope secretly of simplistic, pan-idiotic, neo-cretin, solutions to problems that are open only to answers that are as sophisticated and optimistic as the problems are complex and disheartening. New York is worth saving, and improving, for the same reason that Pocatello, Idaho, is, because both cities represent in different ways the aspirations of free, hopeful, and intelligent men.

George Michael Patrick
New York City

Your faith in your extrasensory ability to discover what I really meant has saved you the trouble of examining what I really said.

You assume, in the manner of many New Yorkers, that because I find New York absurd and unpleasant that I am "anti-urban, anti-cultural, and anti-everything not small town America." Crawl out of your Gotham grotto, Mr. Patrick, and you will discover to your shock (and, perhaps, delight) that there are other choices in urban living, culture and just about everything else not small town America that are preferable to those offered by your city.

Once one winnows the chaff of petty petulance from your letter, one discerns a defense based largely on the polyglot nature of New York's population. New Yorkers make much of

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this characteristic, but they value it primarily for the variety it gives their restaurants and they grossly abuse many of the minorities of which they boast.

Some, and you appear to be among them, like to spread the idea that New York is a verdant multicultural valley in the Anglo-Saxon wasteland of America. This is nonsense as you would be told by any Italian or Irishman in Boston, Jew in Miami, Portuguese in Providence, Russian in Los Angeles, Pole in Chicago, Czech in Cleveland, Austrian in Wilkes-Barre, German in Milwaukee, Oriental in Honolulu, Scandinavian in Minneapolis, Mexican in El Paso, or Negro in Washington (which is the city in which the magazine you attack is published and which is, I believe, the only large American city in which a national minority group comprises an absolute majority of the local population). While New York, thanks to its size and Ellis Island, can claim some of each of the national religious and racial groups, many of these minorities have discovered that they can better fulfill their dreams in other American towns and cities rather than remain in a place that requires all new minority groups to serve a 50-year cultural apprenticeship.

If you can spare the time from your camp meetings, Mr. Patrick, I suggest you visit a few of our nation's provincial cities. You will quickly learn that New York's way of life, fortunately, is not the only one available to polyglot and urban Americans. —Ed.

NEED TRANSLATIONS?

If you have French or German material to be translated into English, we have someone who can do the job.

Write TRANSLATION c/o Idler, 125 Fifth St. NE, Washington 2, D. C.

"Thar She Blows!" How Much Longer?

By Tom H. Inkster

The whale population of the world is in danger. In this article, excerpted from the National Fisherman, Mr. Inkster explains why:

THE EXCITED CRY of the whaler—"Thar she blows!" — that has been heard around the world for centuries still is part of a dramatic adventure on the sea. Today, however, all guesswork in hunting and killing the immense mammal has been replaced by exacting precision in a businesslike operation of a great industry.

There seems to be a common impression that whaling started in New England about 200 years ago and came to an abrupt end during the latter part of the last century with the passing of the sailing ships. Actually, man has been following the whale for 10,000 years and is doing so today with greater vigor than ever before. Unlike the whaling ship of sail that stayed at sea for years, the modern whaling fleets remain in the Atlantic for but a few months.

It was the Norwegians who initiated whaling in the Antarctic with land and sea operations in 1904, and Great Britain followed in 1907. When the haul-up ship came into service, with the whale being hauled up the stern of the vessel to the deck and processed, there was an end to land stations and pelagic whaling expanded at a rapid rate.

Japan first entered the wholesale whaling operation during the 1934-35 season and did not subscribe to the international agreements which were concluded a couple of years later. The Japanese expeditions hunted whale species which were reserved and did not observe the time limit.

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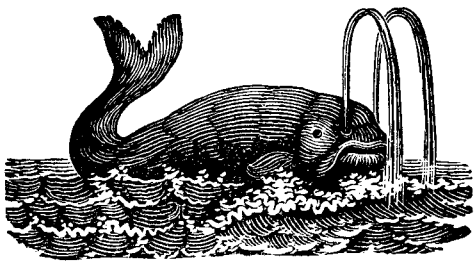

Since World War II Japan has boomed her whaling operations by taking over whale ships and concessions from other nations.

Both Russia and Holland commenced whaling in the Antarctic in 1946 and ever since then control of whaling stocks has been a nightmare.

Unlike almost all of the creatures that live in the sea and propagate in profusion, the whale's power of regeneration is relatively small. The fin whale, which forms the major part of today's catch, has one calf every other year.

In the postwar period whaling restriction attained more established form through the adoption of the International Whaling Convention in 1946, based on the former agreement entered into by Norway and Great Britain. The convention was subscribed by 17 countries, including all who engaged in pelagic whaling in the Antarctic.

An International Whaling Commission was set up, with a commissioner from each participating country, which has met every summer since 1949. To this body a scientifc committee reports on the conditions of the various whale stocks.

[Countries receiving quotas under the convention include Japan (with 48% of the total quota), Norway, U. S. S. R. and the Netherlands. Great Britain has ceased Antarctic whaling.]

As late as 1954 the Scientific Committee stated that — while a reduction in catch of blue whales was desirable — there was no evidence of a decline in stocks of fin whales. However, recent checks on the Antarctic stocks revealed a serious situation. The whale death-rate was out of proportion to stock renewals.

At the 1964 meeting of the commission the majority of members voted to bring the catch limit into line with the scientific evidence, to save further serious damage to the stocks and allow their recovery, but the four countries engaged in Antarctic whaling were unable to agree to such drastic reductions and, consequently, went to the Antarctic whale hunt on a voluntary catch limit, which was much higher than the scientists advised.

[In a recent development, the 13 members of the Whaling Commission agreed unanimously at a special meeting in London to limit further catches of Antarctic whales. But officials of the UN's Food and Agricultural Organization warn that the limits will have to be further reduced if stocks are to be preserved.]

Whales are not particularly important to the American economy, most of them going into food, to fox farms and reduction plants making vitamin tablets and chemicals. As whaling has been pursued so ruthlessly, however, the United States sees the whale population threatened by over-hunting and warns that only international cooperation — with reduction in catches — can reduce the hazard.

Hunting North

The North Pacific whale population is estimated to be only one-fifth of that in the Antarctic. With the latter resource in jeopardy and more pressure exerted by Japan and Russia for whaling in North Pacfic waters, the United States brought four nations together to study the seriousness of the whale situation in northern latitudes.

At the University of Washington in Seattle, representatives of the International Whaling Commission from Canada, Japan, Russia and the United States met recently to seek means for controlling the whale harvests that increased (in the North

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OPPORTUNITIES

CONSIDER FREEZING AT DEATH, cryogenic storage, and hope for reanimation in distant future when science becomes sufficiently sophisticated and when aging-control becomes practical. Newsletter available $2 per year. Non-profit, scientific, international, incorporated for service. Life Extension Society, 2011 "N" St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

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Pacific) from 10,705 whales taken in 1961 to 18,302 in 1963. Almost all the whales taken in the North Pacific were accounted for by Japan and Russia.

Good as Beef

Properly handled, whale meat is comparable to good beef and the barbecue expert could astonish the neighborhood by serving Texas-size 100-pound steaks. Many Britons, who had forgotten what beef looked like, considered whale meat a godsend during the war. One third the price of pork, whale meat is eaten raw, fried and roasted in Japan.

The whale blow is characteristic and an experienced whaler can recognize the species on sight and even estimate the size of the animal. Blue and finback whales send a blow tall and upright like a poplar tree to 50'. Humpback whales make a low spreading blow, and the sperm blows forward at a 45 degree angle.

Finbacks are the staple of whaling in the North Pacific and the humpbacks, small but commercially valuable, are plentiful. Valued for its exceptional oil, the sperm whale is the only species of commercial value with teeth and is what everyone thinks a whale should look like. California's gray whale is protected and the blue whale, largest and most valuable of them all, is found only in the Antarctic.

Contrary to widespread belief, whales do not live long, their average life span being 25 years. In that time some become 100' long and weigh up to 100 tons. A newborn blue whale might measure 20' in length and put on 500 pounds in one day.

Floating Post Office

Danger and hardship have always been close companions of whalers. The Charles Island barrel post office in the Galapagos group is a reminder of adventurous episodes. Established by whalers more than a century and a half ago, the unique post office is still in use having been kept in repair through the years by grateful sailors. Mail from ships on the outward run would be placed in the barrel, to be picked up by the next ship homeward bound.

The barrel played an important part during the War of 1812. Capt. David Porter rounded the Horn in the *USS Essex* in the winter of 1812 with the purpose of harassing British shipping in the Pacific. Learning that the English ships were near the Galapagos, he headed for Post Office Bay.

[Through mail] in the barrel waiting to be picked up by the British whalers homeward bound, he obtained the names of every ship in the area. Lurking in the Galapagos waters, Porter soon captured 12 British whalers and eventually destroyed a million tons of enemy shipping.

Weird and awesome, the Galapagos were a godsend to whalers. For the scurvy-threatened crews, there was food and plenty of it. Gigantic land tortoises, weighing up to 550 pounds, that swarmed over the islands, provided fresh succulent meat. Oil from their bodies was as pure and fine as butter and the great giants could hibernate in a ship's hold for a year or more, requiring neither food nor water, their meat remaining in prime condition.

Whaling captains lauded the tortoise meat, declaring it to be more delicious than chicken, pork or beef. Best of all, to the delight of thrifty New Englanders, it was free.

So fond were the whalers of it, an estimated 100,000 tortoises were taken from the Galapagos. Greedily, entire islands were stripped. The few tortoises remaining today are given protection by Ecuador, owner of the volcanic islands that straddle the Equator.

During the Civil War ships of the United States suffered the same fate the British whalers sailed into during the War of 1812. Southern strategists, hoping to force powerful New England whaling barons to bring pres-

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sure for an end to the conflict, sent a raider to the Pacific for the destruction of Union whalers.

The *Shenandoah* was obtained in England after much intrigue and converted to a cruiser at sea. She sank several Union ships in the South Atlantic — and from them the Shenandoah's crew was doubled. Then her commander, James Iredale Waddell rounded the Cape of Good Hope and had repairs made to the propeller shaft — while 34 hands were secretly engaged — in Australia.

Leaving Melbourne, Feb. 18, 1865, the *Shenandoah* pounced on four whalers in the Carolines. A whaler was burned in the Sea of Okhotsk, then Waddell entered the Bering Sea. In one week 24 of New England's finst whaling ships were captured, 20 going to the bottom. In all, 38 ships were captured — six released on bond and 32 destroyed.

The whaling industry had hardly recovered from the destruction caused by Waddell when, in 1871, a disaster shook the fleet. Forty whalers entered the Arctic through Bering Strait, bound for Point Barrow. Thirty-two of the ships, reaping a rich harvest of oil and bone, delayed too long. The ice closed in dooming all the ships but one.

The whaling industry in the North Pacific reached its zenith about 1870 and began to decline due to a variety of reasons. Other materials could be used to make items cheaper than had been manufactured from bone. Oil was being found in great quantities below the price of whale oil.

To cap it all, perfume manufacturers found a substitute that could be used as a base, and ambergris — once prized far more highly than gold — would barely pay for its handling and shipping charges.

Revival of Whaling

With the advent of factoryships and new uses found for whale oil in making margerine, soap and numerous chemical additives, Japan saw a golden opportunity to feed her millions and enhance her economic position at home and abroad. Russia, desperately in need of food due to crop failures on the land and hoping to be a power in controlling the seas and all the food contained therein, moved into the whaling scene in the grand manner.

Nations famed for whaling can no longer operate fleets profitably. Norway, the nation that pioneered whaling and created markets for products therefrom now finds herself in a precarious position. Whaling has been a most important factor in Norway's economy.

Norway wanted to curtail the annual catch and conserve whale stocks in the Antarctic but was overruled and is now struggling to stay in the whaling business. The future of the whaling industry and the mammals themselves is both ominous and hazardous, for it appears very dubious if either of the two major contenders for whaling supremacy (Japan and Russia) will cut catches in a manner sufficiently drastic to save our great natural resource of the sea.

House Hunting

By Enid Saunders Candlin

The large and handsome mansion in the Grunewald, which was to be become known as "The Sex Trap," had once been the property of a Hungarian millionaire, but had been lost to him through the fortunes of war. No one thought of him or his Rumanian mistress now; the one idea in heads of the senior officers of the Allied forces was, as they drove through this particular suburb of Berlin: "I'll get that house for myself before anyone else does."

A Russian Colonel was actually the first to achieve this goal, but he had

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hardly moved in, that summer of 1945, before a certain Captain Phelps appeared. This British naval officer had had a good war, and was in a splendid, rollicking, buccaneering mood, thoroughly enjoying being in the van of a victorious army, and determined to make the most of the opportunities of the occupation before the Administration of the Control Commission arrived. That body, he knew, would spoil everything — they would decide, allot, deny, command, and have every form signed in triplicate. The thing to do was to act quickly. Captain Phelps remembered the First World War, when he had been rather slow off the mark, and had then had leisure to reflect on the ways of his more sophisticated colleagues. He had not dreamed of having a second opportunity to redress the innocence of his youth.

The house of the Hungarian gentleman with the Rumanian mistress stood in a beautiful park, in which was a swimming pool, tall trees, and wide flower beds. The house itself, aside from possessing many noble rooms, had ingenious panels of plate glass, which would sink into the floor when a button was pressed; a staircase led directly from the splendid drawing room, with its concert Bechstein, to an elegant bedroom above, and the bathroom attached to this apartment was fitted out beyond the dreams of luxury. "Just like filling a dock, what?" the Captain would say, as he exhibited the bath to his friends, and exalted in its many tiers. The Sex Trap was in fact exactly what an exuberant, piratical character like Phelps had been unconsciously seeking for many years. He knew at once that it must be his, and he told the Russian officer so.

"Get out of this house, it's mine," said he to the Russian Colonel, with the old-world courtesy which the Navy and the War had combined to give him.

"It is not yours, it is mine," answered the Slav. "It was allocated to me by Marshal Blokossovsky."

"I have a company of Marines standing by at the end of the drive," replied Phelps, "and if you are not out of it by yourself in five minutes, you will be by ten." The Russian left to report this outrage at his headquarters, and Phelps took possession of his estate. Berlin was still in such a turmoil that he got away with it.

In the short but glorious Indian summer which followed, when Phelps as head of an organization known as Frontier Control joyously took over the Customs with his own understanding that everything passing through might become a form of prize money, the Sex Trap became the scene of many memorable parties. Once a sheet of plate glass was shattered by a guest, who, seeing a lady bathing in the pool in the garden, forgot all obstacles in his wish to join her. But all these revelries were brought to an untimely end by the downfall of the master of the house, when in the course of time Admin. got around to investigating Irregularities. Phelps was sent back to his native land, and this particular item of property fell into the hands of another officer, almost as lively, but more circumspect. He regretted the arrival of law and order, but gave the Commission sufficient lip service to be able to hold onto the Sex Trap until sovreignty was returned to the Germans, and life became normal, moral, and dull.

NATIONAL WILDLIFE tells of a man who wrote a hotel and asked whether it would be all right to bring his dog along when he came for a stay. Back came this answer:

"I have been in the hotel business for thirty years. I have never called the police to eject a disorderly dog, or replaced a blanket burned by a dog's cigarette. I have never found a towel in a dog's suitcase, or a ring on the furniture from a dog's bottle. Your dog is welcome here, and if he'll vouch for *you*, you can come along, too."

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A Goal's a Goal's a Goal

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.—A scientific leader proposed tonight that the artificial creation of life itself be set as a "national goal."

A rush of knowledge is putting within sight the ability to modify living things and to control evolution, and ultimately to create new or existing forms of life, perhaps new "human" life, declared Dr. Charles C. Price, president of the American Chemical Society.

Setting it as a national goal "would allow time and opportunity to consider critical questions of who then might control" life and evolution and for what purposes. —AP dispatch

Quick! Form a federal task force.
White House conference? Fine.
Our goal: creating life by
Fiscal '69.

Check with Moyers; call the press;
And mobilize the team.
Ask the nation's foremost minds
To formulate the scheme.

Tell Dirksen it won't cost too much;
Get Mike Mansfield's prognosis.
And find out if he's got the votes
To push through planned mitosis.

Put out feelers, take a poll
In Butte and Abilene.
See what folks in Boston think
Of messing with the gene.

Estimate appropriations;
Coordinate, project;
Formalize it, finalize it;
Collect and then select.

Should we make a cabinet post?
Some new agency?
Put it under OEO?
Or the AEC?

We must try hard to avoid
An image partisan
So make sure the staff includes
One meek Republican.

Then we better call up Bob
And Teddy Kennedy;
Tell them we've got something here
For Francis Morrissey.

Excuse me, sir, I do not see
Quite why we need more life;
For that we make the normal way
Provides sufficient strife.

In a way you're right, of course,
But don't you also see
If we do not act, we'll lose
Out to the GOP?

Ours is not to reason why;
No—ours is just to do it.
Once it's done, you then have time
To sit down and review it.

A goal's a goal's a goal, my son.
If it bring joy or woe,
It matters not; what counts is this:
Just who will run the show?

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HUGH HAYNIE ...

"Veni, Vidi, Vici, Y'All!"

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Flotsam & Jetsam

FPC Chairman Swidler

THE SUPERFLUOUS COMMENT of the month was contained in a message Lyndon Johnson sent to Federal Power Commission Chairman Joseph C. Swidler at the height of the northeast blackout crisis. As Mr. Swidler was struggling with the problems of the massive power failure, he received a note from the President telling him that the blackout "is a dramatic reminder of the importance of the uninterrupted flow of power to the health, safety and well being of our citizens and the defense of our country."

The quote made us think back to the less circumlocutious days of Harry S. Truman when the FPC would probably have received a telegram from the White House something like this: "Turn the damn lights back on."

THE GOVERNMENT Printing Office has published the autopsy reports on John Paul Jones.

A PAPER IN TEXAS points out most people who favor birth control have already been born.

TWO OTHER MINOR notes on the blackout:

A quarter-page ad for a portable fluorescent light appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* the morning of the power failure. The copy included this advice: "No one can afford to be without one . . . when power fails." The subsequent blackout produced one of the most phenomenal promotional tie-ins ever to bless Madison Avenue.

And it occurred to us that one can sum up the two major domestic news stories of the past few months this way: Los Angeles had Watts and New York didn't.

LET'S SEE—it was just about a year ago that we noted that 98% of the schools in the South were still segregated. We read the other day that the figure has been reduced to 94.8%. Oh well, only another 30 years to go.

THE ITEM ABOVE suggests that the time may well be ripe for us to unveil our plan for an ultra-radical political party. This party would promise, if elected, not to pass any new legislation. It would simply carry out all the social measures already on the books and enforce existing laws for the protection of civil rights. It's probably not constitutional but worth a try.

THESE DAYS when high paid consultants are busy dreaming up glorious solutions to the poverty problem we find it ironic to learn that housing starts are remaining close to the August level when they were the lowest in nearly three years. We not only need decent housing for millions, we need the jobs that construction provides. But then a big national housing program isn't half as much fun as the anti-poverty game.

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Jeers or Cheers . . .

. . . as appropriate, to the following:

☞JOHN LINDSAY, the Republican recently elected mayor of New York, and Arlen Specter, the Republican recently elected DA of Philadelphia, for triumphing over corrupt and crummy Democratic machines.

☞THE AID OFFICIAL in Vietnam who, when asked by Sen. Teddy Kennedy during a VIP tour to identify his major problem, replied that it was VIP tours.

☞MR. RICHARD R. MURPHY, a Sioux Falls attorney and member of the John Birch Society, who is running for the seat of Senator Karl Mundt (R-S.D.) on the grounds that Senator Mundt is too liberal. We hadn't noticed.

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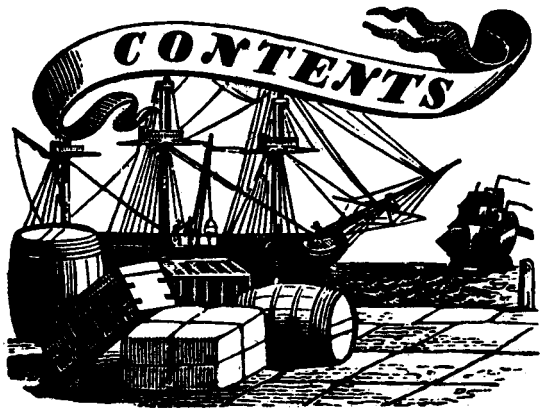

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